3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

The Ukrainian Territory

I

1. Geographical Relations

a) Its place in Europe

The frontiers of Ukraine coincide with the boundaries of the area settled by the Ukrainian people. This area stretches from the Upper Tisa, the Danube, the Black Sea and the Caucasus to the woods and marshes of Polesya, from the Poprad, the Syan, the Vepr and the Pilitsa rivers (affluents of the Vistula) to the valleys of the Caucasus and the broad waters of the Don; further east numerous Ukrainian settlements lie on the way to Siberia and the Pacific. /131

Ukraine is the bridge between Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean countries. Its tectonic structure is determined by the Ukraine gneiss and the chains of the Carpathians, the Yaila mountains and the Caucasus (young fold system). Recent shiftings of the surface have lent a more varied shape to this landscape than to any other in Eastern Europe. The glaciers of the Ice Age covered only a small part of what we call Ukraine to-day, with the result, however, that most of the country was covered with a thick crust of loess, the origin of the fertile Black Earth. Climate and flora are distinctly different from those of adjoining countries but, in spite of this, Ukraine does not possess any marked natural frontiers. The Black Sea and the Caucasus alone may be regarded as such and in the north, the boundary is partly given by the marshes of Polesya. The history of Ukraine has been in part determined by its lack of frontiers protected by Nature. /133

b) Frontiers

The Ukrainian territory lies between 43° and 53°N and 21° and 45°E on the way to Asia, the continent of steppes and deserts. In consequence of their position, the frontiers of Ukraine have often been subject to alterations; the limits of the settled area often overlap neighboring areas and are, indeed, often so blurred that no sharp boundaries can be drawn, especially /131

● 131 in Sub-Caucasia, but also in the zone between Poland and Ukraine.

101 The frontiers of the area settled by the Ukrainians are divided
131 into the following sections:

1. the southern section, bounded by the Seas and the Caucasus;
2. the southwestern section — the Roumanian-Magyar section;
3. the western section — bordering on Slovakia and Poland;
4. the northern section — the White Ruthenian-Russian section;
5. the eastern section — Don and Caucasus section.

The southern frontier was reached by the Ukrainian people at the end of the eighteenth century, thus linking up with the trade of the outside world. The frontier runs from the delta of the Danube to Gagry on the slopes of the Caucasus and is about 1125 miles long. Only part of the Crimean Peninsula was settled by the Ukrainians; it is a mixed settlement and includes among its population Ukrainians, Tatars and Russians.

The south-west frontier is about 625 miles long and has shifted considerably in the course of centuries in favor of the Roumanians. To-day the districts of Akkerman and Hotin as well as the north-west area of Bucovina are all that is left of the Ukrainian settlements that once spread all over Bessarabia, Moldavia and Bucovina. The losses on the Magyar frontier have not been so severe.

The western frontier, about 532 miles long, is not clearly defined in the Slovak section, there being many ethnographical insets. In the Polish section this frontier is a mixed zone, especially in the Kholm district and Podlakhia, where that section of the Ukrainian population which joined the Roman Catholic Church in the 20th century has become Polish in national consciousness.

On the northern frontier there is no rigid line of demarcation between Ukrainian and White Ruthenian dialects; east of the Dnipro (area round Chernyhiv) the frontier has become particularly blurred as the land was settled by Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and Russians.

The eastern frontier is divided into 2 parts by the wedge of Don Cossack territory projecting west, viz. the section bet-

ween Novokhopersk and Rostov and that extending from Rostov to Otomanivsk. 101 131

It is only in the western section that the frontier runs between the purely Ukrainian area in west Sub-Caucasia (Kuban area) and the Don area; eastern Sub-Caucasia is a mixed belt of Ukrainians and Russians. In the south-east, therefore, we must speak of two frontiers of Ukrainian territory, a narrower and a wider one. The former separates Ukrainian Transcaucasia from the eastern part of Transcaucasia that is partly Russian, while the latter also includes eastern Sub-Caucasia. Throughout its course, the south-eastern frontier is blurred and by no means fixed, as the process of colonisation is still going on.

c) Boundaries and Territories of the three Historical Ukrainian States:

The Kyiv state stretched in the 11th and 12th centuries from the Wyslok to the Donets and included areas which were not colonised and others whose inhabitants were not Ukrainians. It embraced almost 1153846 square miles, almost 1/6 of which was constantly inhabited by Ukrainians. 131 175

The second Ukrainian state (the realm of the Cossacks) had an area of about 115384 square miles, western Ukraine was not included within its boundaries.

The third Ukrainian state covered the entire area settled by the Ukrainian people, with the exception of the Don area and Sub-Caucasia. Without annexations (which were of brief duration), the third state covered about 242308 square miles, with the Crimean Peninsula, a part of the Voronesh district, Carpathian Ukraine and Bucovina 265384 square miles, i. e. less than the entire Ukrainian ethnographical territory (276269 sq. miles) and much less than the entire territory originally settled by Ukrainians (357885 sq. miles).

d) Size of the Ukrainian territory

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Up to World War I 29039 sq. miles of the Ukrainian territory belonged to Austria-Hungary and the remainder to Russia. After the end of World War I and a short period of-inde- 162 175

131 pendence in the years 1917—1920, Ukraine was distributed among the following countries:

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Ukraine Territory	Area	Population on 1. 1. 1939 (in millions)
to USSR	216 846 sq.m.	37.3
to Poland	46 932 sq.m.	9.7
to Roumania	6 769 sq.m.	1.4
to Czechoslovakia	5 730 sq.m.	0.8

A separate Ukraine Soviet Republic was formed within the USSR (170 423 sqm. with 31.9 million inhabitants). The remaining Ukraine districts in Soviet Russia belonged to the RSFSR, and a tiny piece of Polesya to the Republic of Whi e Ruthenia. At the end of World War II almost the whole Ukrainian territory fell to the Soviet Union. 20 000 km² with more t' an a million inhabitants belongs to Poland, 5 000 km² with 100 00 inhabitants to Slovakia and small minorities to Roumania.

Soviet Ukraine embraces about 261 538 sq.m. with 43 million inhabitants. —

2. Natural Conditions in Ukraine

a) Landscape of Ukraine

133 Ukraine consists of vast plains and plateaus which seldom rise as high as 1000 ft. above sea-level. The monotony of the Ukrainian landscape is akin to that of neighboring countries in Eastern Europe. One can travel for hundreds of miles through a landscape that never changes, for the plateaus differ little from the plains, the transition from the one physical configuration to the other being scarcely perceptible. In the south, the scene is varied by mountains, but these constitute but 1/10 of the entire area of Ukraine.

Passing from south to north, we can distinguish 5 different forms of landscape.

In the south the **southern low plain** stretches along and includes the plains at the foot of the Carpathian mountains with the valley of the Vistula, the Syan and the Dnister, the Black Sea depression and the plain surrounding the lowlands of

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II

Economic Life

By the "economy of Ukraine" in the following pages we do not mean the economy of Soviet Ukraine but of the entire Ukrainian territory. It is most difficult to present facts here, as the various sections of Ukrainian territory are not only incorporated in different states but have also varying economic organisations. These difficulties were due primarily to the peculiar character of Soviet statistics. In the statistics for the first two Five Year Plans it is impossible to translate into absolute figures either the real value of the rouble or the percentages given. More entanglements were caused by the inadequacy of data for quantity and quality and the obvious exaggeration of the natural wealth. These factors have been taken into consideration in the following pages.

Basic Problems

1. The area of Ukrainian economy

(far more than a million square kilometers) lies spread out like a fan round the north of the Black Sea and the Sea of Oziv. Almost all its rivers flow into this north-east continuation of the Mediterranean, and Ukraine is the only country in Eastern Europe which they serve. The area includes fertile districts, and valuable mineral wealth; the various sections complement each other economically and communications between them are convenient. With a total population of about 60 millions (59 per sq. kilometer as compared with 8, the average for USSR), it approaches European conditions. So the natural, but not the political, conditions for a grand scale economy are given.

from Ukraine, although it is true that Russia had to be supplied with sugar in addition to raw and auxiliary materials (coal, ores, pig-iron, steel etc.). Imports to Ukraine (e. g. textiles) were more than met by exports. But no capital was imported from Russia to set off the active trade balance; this came almost entirely from other countries.

In the common budget of Imperial Russia in the years 1909—1913 Ukraine had to supply 20 % of the total revenue while it was allocated only 20 % of the expenditure. Almost half (45—46 %) of the Imperial revenue from Dnipro Ukraine was diverted to other areas of Russia. Three fourths of the funds ear-marked for capitalisation went abroad in the form of interest and dividends; Russia itself utilised revenue from Ukraine to install rival plants that very often manufactured or finished goods derived from Ukraine. Ukraine exported abroad four to nine times as much as she imported and was solely responsible for the fact that Russia had an active trade balance. It is an undisputable fact that Ukraine was an integral part of the economic system of Europe before the First World War.

7. The Russian Eurasian Theory

is that all Eurasian and Asiatic parts of Russia, including peripheral areas like Mongolia, Eastern Turkestan etc. must be united in one great empire. Let us view this problem from the point of view of economic geography.

The features common to that gigantic stretch of territory are the enormous distances between the various centers of production to the frontiers and the sea, the length of time that rivers and seas are ice-bound, sparse population, high costs of transportation, and an unfavorable position with regard to world markets. It must therefore be organised as a self-supporting economy, planned from some center. Western Siberia is the heart of Eurasia.

These facts do not apply to Ukraine. The 2400 km between the sea and the Semyrjechka area may be Eurasian, while in Europe the least favorable points are less than 600 km from the sea, and this "European" distance from the sea holds for Ukraine where no center is further than 600 km from the Black Sea. The distance between the Kusnets Basin, the chief coal area of

● 131 Eurasia and the ores in the Ural is more than 2000 km; the
487 coal of the Donets Basin, on the other hand, is about 350—450 km from the iron ore of Kryvyj Rih, while the iron and manganese ores of Kerch are nearer still. The seas in the north of Russia are frozen for 20—26 weeks, while the Black Sea has ice for but 3—4 weeks in the year. Most of its harbors can be kept open all winter by means of ice-breakers. The
[161] density of the population in Ukraine is 59 to the square kilometer which cannot be compared with the figures for Siberia (1 per sq. km) or with the average for USSR (8). Conditions in Ukraine, therefore, are much more akin to those in Europe than are those in the continental heart of Eurasia some 4000 km away. And for Ukraine this fact found expression, for instance, in the fact that it could not profit from the reduced railway freights that were granted for long-distance transportation. The unfavorable position of Moscow and Leningrad as manufacturing centers was a great handicap to the economy of Ukraine which possessed all the conditions necessary for production within its own frontiers but nevertheless had to import goods from there and export raw materials to very low prices.

As long as Russia's face was turned towards Europe, these considerations did not matter much, but they are felt all the more acutely now that the economy of the Soviet Union is definitely planned.

8. The Ukrainian idea of economy

421 with its championship of private property was always entirely different from the "mir" idea, with its farming in common and periodical division of the soil which was characteristic for Russian economy. Exceptions within Ukrainian territory, due to special conditions of time and place, do not alter this fundamental fact.
[566] That serfdom should have been abolished so late was felt to be a great burden by the Ukrainian who had enjoyed personal freedom in his days of political independence. He always connected serfdom with Russian rule which naturally did not help to mitigate his aversion to everything Russian.

433 In national Ukrainian literature, the relationship of different branches of economy is often discussed. It is often maintained that up to the present, development has been along the lines of

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CHAPTER I

THE RIVER WORLD AND THE KIEVAN STATE (UP TO 1240)

§1. THE GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR IN RUSSIAN HISTORY

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RUSSIA is a land of rivers. The element of frustration in Russian history comes from the fact that all the rivers of the Great Eurasian Plain debouch into land-locked or ice-packed seas. The fine rivers of Siberia spend themselves in Arctic waters. The Dvina, north-westward artery from the Central Russian river system, flows to the Baltic. Southward the Dniestr, the Dniepr and the Don descend to the warm waters of the Black Sea to find the single outlet to the Mediterranean through the narrow straits which separate Europe from Asia. Eastward the Volga, greatest of Russian rivers, casts its waters into the Caspian, the largest of Asiatic lakes.

The rivers offer to the whole Eurasian Plain the possibility of a close-knit unity. Rapids are rare—those of the Dniepr are famous; the rivers are broad and slow flowing over the vast level plain. Only the enterprise of man was necessary to convert the primeval streams into a system of communications. Geographically, a north-south development of historical life would seem inevitable; and from early times the river routes from the Black Sea to the Baltic were known to the trading communities of the Mediterranean. Yet the very network of rivers which gives promise of a unified and ordered development of life over the Eurasian Plain offers at the same time opportunity for the intrusions of alien elements. So the early history of the Eurasian Plain is the history of the penetration of the region by successive invasions from east, west and north, and of the percolation of the most diverse influences. Regional cultures were created by exterior action, and, so far as there is evidence in historical times, by the fusion of invaders, generally not very numerous, with the conquered inhabitants. This was certainly the case with the medieval states of Novgorod and Kiev, where a Scandinavian warrior and trader class imposed themselves on a primitive Slav population.

The third and youngest cultural growth in medieval Russia was that which radiated from Moscow. Here, owing to the proximity of the Volga and the close relation between the Grand Duchy of Muscovy and the Golden Horde, Mongol and Islamic influences

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imparted a peculiarly sombre and conservative tone to the reviving Russian state. The 'Asiatic' character of this third Russian culture may be contrasted with the enterprising 'western' complexion of 'Baltic' Novgorod and with the 'Mediterranean' brilliance of southern Kiev.

The Volga had always been a channel through which Oriental influences penetrated towards the north. In the days of the Khazar kingdom in the eighth century Persian, Arab and Jewish elements were strong. Klyuchevski, moreover, has emphasized the significance of the Finno-Ugrian substratum in the primitive population of the Volga basin. Here Voguls, Cheremises, Votyaks and other primordial Finnic tribes were enserfed by the Suzdal princes in the twelfth century. The new Russia which emerged in the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, and which for the first time conquered the river network of the Eurasian Plain from *within*, was a different Russia (less Slav and less European) from the Russias of Kiev and Novgorod.

The north-south trend in Russian history, which should found a unity upon the river network, is countered by a pull east-west. The Great Eurasian Plain has no limit north-westward till it reaches the Baltic and the North Sea; none westward till the Carpathians; while south-eastward it is lost in the Aralo-Caspian desert zone which stretches to the T'ien-Shan and beyond to the Khingan. Thus in comparatively recent times temporarily great powers like Poland and Sweden have exercised a formidable pressure upon the undefined borderlands. In earlier times the Germanic peoples in migration swept through to the Black Sea; the Goths ruled the South Russian land for two centuries. From the east successive waves of the Altaian peoples rode in from the desert zone of Inner Asia. The Hunnish and Avarian invasions of the southern steppelands on the way to Central Europe are very comparable to the later Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century. The Mongols were in fact merely the final wave of the Altaian peoples, who established themselves rather more effectively and for a longer period of time because their ruthless military qualities had been refined by the competence of Chinese and Persian statecraft.

The exposure of the Russian land both towards the west and towards the south-east made chronic the factors of instability and uncertainty which have affected all phases of Russian history. The fluidity of frontiers and the repetition of invasions have introduced complicated racial issues. The Russian state of the Muscovite Tsars was founded upon a real geographical unity, and it was a natural response to the slackening of pressures from the east. But the state which the first Ivans compounded out of Slav, Finnic and Tatar

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material was never a racial unity, and when the Russian Empire expanded *outward* without limit, as its enemies had formerly pressed *inward* without limit, it absorbed into its sphere peoples, Slav and non-Slav, who were historically attached to other regions and who felt the attraction of other cultural worlds.

§2. SOUTH RUSSIA BEFORE THE SLAVS

Many peoples occupied South Russia before the Slavs. Numerous cultures flourished there before the beginnings of written history. The fan of rivers round the Black Sea (from east to west, Kuban, Don, Dniepr, Bug, Dniestr, Pruth, Danube) nourished a vast area which linked the Asiatic with the Trans-Danubian and Mediterranean worlds. At periods in archaeological time a common culture appears to have covered the whole area between the Caucasus and the upper valley of the Danube. This common cultural background of forms and designs does not, of course, necessarily imply a racial uniformity. In fact the remains of different physical types and differing burial practices indicate the movements and settlements of a diversity of peoples.

The first historical period in South Russia began with the Greek colonization, the origins of which go back to the eighth century B.C. The Greeks themselves were undoubtedly the heirs of older thalassocracies in the Pontus—Minoan and Mycenaean. The Xth, XIth and XIIth Books of the *Odyssey* and the legend of the Argonauts suggest the existence of more ancient cultural epochs, which the archaeological wealth of the Kuban affirms.

The Greek colonial civilization in the Pontus has been well described by Minns and Rostovtsev. The Greek colonists round the northern shores found the Scythians in possession of the South Russian steppelands. The Scythians were probably an Altaian nomad aristocracy with an Iranian language and culture ruling over a variety of subject peoples, many of whom were cultivators. The influence not only of Greece but also of Iran and Upper Asia is to be discovered in the remarkable art which flowered under the patronage of the Scythian princes. The economy of the Scythians, based on stock-raising and agriculture, was complementary to that of the Greek states, and for several centuries both the Greek colonial cities and the Scythian rulers of the Pontic hinterland grew rich on the enormous trade which developed between the steppelands and the Mediterranean. Athens became dependent on Scythian wheat, particularly during the Peloponnesian War, and the Pontus was often an issue in the politics of the Hellenic world. Peisker thinks that the demand

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ness and ideological fanaticism which are so characteristic of Communist psychology—itself a manifestation of a certain state of spiritual sterility—were brought to bear to achieve ultimate objects, which on the American continent during the preceding century had been attained by more balanced, hardly less heroic, and certainly less catastrophic methods.

§ 3. INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF THE UKRAINE

The industrial development of the Ukraine has been based on the exploitation of the coal deposits of the Donets basin and of the iron-ore and manganese fields situated west of the Dniepr. Abundant layers of coal are found along both banks of the Donets. The eastern part of the carboniferous region lies within the territory of the Don with its Cossack population. The western part, which constitutes about two-thirds of the whole region, is situated within the boundaries of Soviet Ukraine.

Whether the Donets region properly belongs to the Ukraine is a question which has never been definitely settled. Historically, the lands along the right bank of the river Donets in its northern part belonged to that 'New Ukraine' which began to be populated in the second half of the seventeenth century by settlers from Muscovy and by fugitives from Hetman's Ukraine—at that time devastated by the Turkish invasions of Ahmed Köprülü and Kara Mustafa. Subsequently, these lands were incorporated in the Government of Kharkov. The lands along the southern course of the Donets formed part of the extreme eastern angle of New Russia where settled life only really began in the eighteenth century after the Tartar Nogay Horde, which roamed over this region, had retired beyond the Volga.

In 1917 the Provisional Government, in admitting five Ukrainian Governments as the legitimate area for the exercise of 'the national and cultural influence of the Kiev *Rada*', excluded the Government of Kharkov for the reason that the Donets coal area lay within it. The Ukrainian language is not commonly spoken in the coal-fields, and even if the large numbers of temporary labourers who come in from the north are ignored, not more than half the population of Donbass (the Donets coal area) can boast of their Ukrainian origin. In general, this region has nothing which unites its mixed industrial population to the essentially Ukrainian rural population of adjoining regions to the west. The only real link which connects the Donets coal-fields with the industrial districts along the Dniepr and the manganese and iron-ore regions is a purely economic one.

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According to both German and Soviet geological calculations, the reserves of coal in the Donets area amount to about 55 milliard tons. The deposits are largely anthracite—inferior in quality to Welsh.

Donets coal was the basis of the early industrial development of the South of Russia. Exploitation was begun in the middle of the nineteenth century; the construction of railway lines speeded up development during the seventies, and in the eighties Donets coal was already in use in the industries of the Moscow and Petersburg regions. After the discovery, about 1890, of abundant iron-ore deposits to the west of the lower Dniepr, the Donets coal industry acquired a rapidly growing importance. Between 1900 and 1913 output was increased at the rate of 17 per cent per annum. In 1913 the Ukrainian part of the coal-field delivered 23 million tons: in 1916, 29 million. During this period the Donets fields supplied all the southern industries with coal, and its contribution to northern industries became important with the construction of a new line direct from the mine area to Moscow. More than half the coal industry, before the Revolution, was financed by French capital.

For some time after the Revolution the output of the mines was relatively insignificant: during 1919 the area was the scene of desperate battles between 'Whites' and 'Reds', and later it was devastated by the raids of Makhno and other anarchic *atamany*. The famine of 1921–2 accentuated the terrible conditions. During the period of the New Economic Policy, output of coal gradually revived, and in 1929 fell little short of that of 1913. The First Five Year Plan prescribed the accelerated industrialization of the Ukrainian mineral-bearing areas. The social struggle which formed part of the 'Revolution against Peasantry' did not particularly affect the Donets, but the famine of 1932–3 had its influence there. Nevertheless, if Soviet statistics are to be credited, the Government succeeded in coping with the difficulties, and in 1934 a production of 68 million tons of coal and anthracite was claimed—representing an output in excess of that of France. Ukrainian production occupied fourth place—after U.S., Great Britain and Germany. For 1938, Soviet statistics gave a production of 74 million tons out of a total of 104½ million tons for the whole of the Soviet Union. The average annual increase in production for the last five years, 1934–9, is substantially less than that for the preceding five years, 1929–34. One of the reasons for this is stated to be the difficulty of retaining labour which was available during the period of social conflict in the countryside, but which has drifted back to the farms following improvement in the conditions in the *Kolkhozy*. Labour

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whether it has been properly used. For instance, one of the Ukrainian *Kolkhozy* reported that it had accomplished 50 per cent of the Sowing Plan when in reality it had only accomplished 2 per cent of it' (*Pravda*, 14 June, 1932). The harvest is continually assessed 'by the look of it in the fields' before it has been gathered in. Over a series of years the harvest has been between 20 and 30 per cent less than reports showed it to be. 113

The comparisons between Soviet actuality and pre-Revolutionary conditions are often unconvincing because Soviet statistics do not take quality into consideration. For instance, according to Soviet statistics, the output of peat has risen by 30 per cent. In reality, only the percentage of moisture retained in the peat accepted for delivery has risen.

In the *Times* article on 'The Plight of the Plan' (29 January, 1938) this question of quantity being the chief concern, irrespective of quality, in all the most important branches of industry in Soviet Ukraine, is discussed: 'The coal-mines show impressive figures but quantity is the chief concern. This has risen threefold or fourfold in the last decades, but recent disclosures indicate that the calorific value of the coal leaving Soviet mines is less even than that of the output in old Russia. The production of iron ore has gone up at a similar rate, but the final result is similar.' Cf. Makcheef, Th. (Maksheev), 'Heavy Industry in the Soviet Union,' *Contemporary Russia*, II, 2, London, 1938.

The Territory of Soviet Ukraine

Out of the 588,000 sq. km. claimed for 'Greater Ukraine', Soviet Ukraine occupied (before the incorporation of Eastern Galicia in September 1939) 452,000. This area represents 2·1 per cent of the whole extent of the U.S.S.R. Soviet Ukraine occupies the territory of eight former Governments of the Empire: Kharkov, Chernigov (less five northern districts), Poltava, Ekaterinoslav (now renamed Dniepropetrovsk), Kherson, Podolia, Volhynia (excluding, until September 1939, the western districts annexed to Poland in 1921), Kiev. Three northern districts of the former Government of Tauris (Berdyansk, Melitopol, Dnieprovsk) are also included. The Putivl district of the former Kursk Government as well as some villages of the former Orel Government are also deemed to form part of the Ukraine. 131

In 1924 an 'Autonomous Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic' was formed out of the Podolian districts of Balta and Tulchin along the Dniestr in order to give a semblance of self-government to the Roumanian-speaking villages of that region. The area of A.S.S.R. Moldavia is 8288 sq. km. and the population 572,000. The capital is located at Tiraspol.

The capital of the Ukrainian S.S.R. until 1934 was Kharkov; it is now Kiev.

In 1925 the administrative divisions of the area occupied by the Republic were reorganized into 40 Districts, 662 Regions, and 10,733 village and town Soviets. In 1929 the Districts were abolished out of economy and 7 *Oblasti* (Provinces) were established, roughly equivalent in size to the former Governments. These are: Vinnitsa (formerly Podolia), Kiev, Dniepropetrovsk, Odessa, Kharkov, Chernigov and Donets. Seven 'National Minority' Regions have been set up, and also 366 'National Minority' village Soviets 63

642 He enjoyed an immense advantage in the fact that the civil war
648 between the Whites and the Reds was largely fought on Ukrainian territory and thus compelled the young Ukrainian government to fight upon two fronts throughout the entire period, while for some time the new republic was forced also to oppose the Poles in the
[13] west. Lying as Ukraine did on the shore of the Black Sea, the armed forces of General Denikin, who was heading the effort to create an anti-Communist monolithic Russian government, could only reach Moscow by crossing Ukrainian territory. It was only across Ukrainian territory that the supplies sent to him by the Western nations after the ending of World War I could be delivered and it was his policy to allow no manifestation of Ukrainianism in any form, for he intended to continue that denial of Ukrainian existence that had characterized the old tsarist regime.

His efforts in this direction were aided by the unfortunate failure of the Western democratic powers which had triumphed in the war to understand either the nature of Bolshevism or the desires of the various national movements. At the same time his success was rendered impossible by the refusal of the West to back him in his efforts to restore all or most of the social and political order which had vanished with the abdication of the Tsar.

Thus with the White Russians and the Ukrainians locked in a desperate struggle, the way was open for Lenin to move with relative freedom on his path of disintegration and of conquest. He did not fail to take advantage of every opportunity, and the advances and retreats during the period from 1917 to 1920 and even later were but a preliminary for the later tactics of Communism.

On the other hand it cannot be denied that there existed in Ukraine certain factors which also worked to his advantage. The political and social system prevailing up to 1917 had not given any training in self-government to the Ukrainian people and in the midst of war and revolution they had to start on the most elementary tasks of popular education, while at the same time they corrected fundamental abuses in the economic situation and created and administered a government. Let us, therefore, look briefly at

the Vistula, Wislok, Poprad, the latter in Sub-Carpathian Russia, and finally in Hungary the High Tissa, a tributary of the Danube right up to the former Czecho-Rumanian border. Then this line cuts across Rumanian territory to the south of Tchernovitz (Cernauti) and follows the little river Reout, a tributary of the Dniester, right up to the latter.

Speaking geographically, that which we will decide to call the 'Ukraine' in this book has only one natural frontier: the southern inclines of the western part of the Carpathians. We do not speak of the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov which officially forms its southern frontier, as this is above all the boundary of the Russian continent in its entirety.

Actually, in the north-eastern basin of the Danube rises the immense semicircle of the Carpathians, dominating the Hungarian Plain.

The summits of these mountains reach to more than two thousand metres and are covered by beech, oaks, ash, and some fir trees—typical European forests. They have changed much less than those of the Alps or the Sudeten ranges. Here, in the western part of the Carpathians, in Sub-Carpathian Russia, the forests are still in an almost virgin state. They are still inhabited by bears and wild boar, and are but authentic vestiges —even because of the fact of their primitive state—of the great forests of Central Europe.

The Uzok Range, which has seen the passage of so many invaders in the course of the centuries, has all the characteristics of the high mountains of Central Europe.

From the geo-physical point of view Sub-Carpathian Russia, which stretches along the southern slopes of the Carpathians, is still part of the hilly country, divided by ranges of mountains, with a temperate climate typical of the whole of Central Europe, which has

137 Between the zone of the forests and that of the deserts, a geographical zone which enjoys a rich vegetation of corns and grasses stretches across the Russian plain. It is the Steppe, which begins on the shores of the Black Sea and almost immediately behind the Carpathians, a little to the east of Lvov, in Polish Galicia, along longitude 22 degrees east, and which continues from west to east, growing gradually wider beyond the frontiers of the Ukraine, and passing the official and conventional limit of Europe without interruption into Siberia.

134 Treeless since time immemorial, the plain is here exceptionally fertile. The grasses which grow here since prehistoric times have formed a thick layer of humus by their organic remains, which particularly favours the growth of all cereals, close relations of the wild species of the Steppe, the *pyrei*. The fertility of the soil is not only due to its organic composition but also to its porous structure whose capillary qualities facilitate irrigation.

This famous ' black earth,' the *tchernoziom*, is nowhere so rich as in the Ukraine. It forms, while becoming somewhat poorer towards the east, the typical soil of the whole Steppe both in the Ukraine and in Siberia.

137 The transition between the region of the forests and the Steppe is also not sudden. Before disappearing definitely in the ocean of corn and grass, the forests become lighter and sparser and here and there, especially along the rivers, they advance into the Steppes.

131 Yet the frontier between the zone of the forests and that of the Steppe is the only natural border which one can find in the immensity of the Russian plain. Formerly a stable political boundary—as we shall see when studying the history of the Ukraine[2]—it represents nothing to-day either from the ethnical or the political point of view.

[2] [See category 116, PP. 27-106 --- Analyst]

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

This frontier runs in an almost straight line first towards the east to the Dnieper, which it reaches near the old City of Perejaslavl, then it runs towards the north-east and cuts through the present frontier of the Soviet Ukraine in the neighbourhood of Poutivl (approximately fifty degrees latitude north).

The forest reigns to the north of this line, which cuts the territory of the Ukraine into two unequal parts. The bigger part of Western Ukraine, Polish Galicia and the north-western part of Soviet Ukraine, lie in the forest zone and it is there, in about a quarter of the total territory, that the historic cradle of the Ukraine is to be found, as well as that of the whole of Russia, with the ancient towns of Halitch, Vladimir-Volynsk, Kiev, and Tchernigov.

The other and greater part of the actual Ukrainian territory includes the Steppes, now almost entirely under the plough, which reach down to the Black Sea. This is a country of relatively recent colonization.

In the Ukraine, as in the whole of Russia, the two principal zones are always present.

To sum up, if there is a geographic line between the Ukraine and Europe in the Carpathians, it is impossible to trace a geographic frontier between the Ukraine and the rest of Russia.

Geographically, Ukrainian territory is part of the great Russian Plain and has all the essential characteristics of the latter, and we can do no better than to refer to the dictionary of Larousse which gives the following excellent definition: 'Vast country of the south-west of the Russian Plain.'

Historic evolution alone, directed by the will of men, could, when encountering natural factors, give a distinctive character to this territory.

It is therefore this evolution of the Ukraine which

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

western part of the Ukraine, and we shall confine ourselves to the boundaries as determined on pages 16–19.[1]

We will accept the administrative Soviet frontier as being the northern and eastern boundaries. The coast of the Black Sea and of the Sea of Azov completes the boundary.

Thus the Ukraine, as determined by us, forms a territory whose extreme points are:

In the west longtitude 19 degrees east: the town of Uzhgorod in Hungarian Sub-Carpathian Russia;

In the east longtitude 37.5 degrees east: the town of Lougansk, in the oil-basin of the Donietz;

In the north latitude 52 degrees north: the town of Novgorod-Severski;

In the south latitude 48 degrees north: the town of Ovidiopol, at the mouth of the Dniester. This is within latitudes which are familiar to us, as those of Kiev and of Calais, of Odessa and of Nantes, of Poltava and of Paris correspond with each other.[2]

The maximum extent of Ukrainian territory in a west to east direction, from Uzhgorod to Lougansk, is, as the crow flies, a distance of 1375 kilometres, while in the north to south direction, from Novgorod-Severski to Ovidiopol it is 675 kilometres.

This territory occupies a space of 588,000 square kilometres (about 25,000 square kilometres more than France) of which

Soviet Ukraine has . . .	452,000 sq. km.
Poland (Volynia, Podolia, Galicia)	107,000 sq. km.
Rumanian Bucovina and Bessarabia	17,000 sq. km.
Sub-Carpathian Russia (Hungary)	12,000 sq. km.

[1] See Map No. 1.

[2] See Map No. 2: the map of France superimposed on that of the Ukraine.

7:Bregy & Obolensky H-4, 5 (no date) 1940 RD1 Ukraine RD1

the Dnieper, the Boug, and the Dniester, all flow from /33
north to south, to empty into the Black Sea.

The climate is similar on the whole territory, with an /32
average 'multi-annual' temperature slightly higher in the south and south-east, due to the great heat of the months of July and August in these parts, with the exception of a narrow border of the Black Sea, between Odessa and the isthmus of Perekop, where the winter and the autumn are very mild, which explains the presence in this region of such plants as cotton (a plant with a long period of growth) and trees so delicate as those of the peach.

On the whole territory of the Ukraine the month during which the average temperature is always the highest (20 degrees C.) is July, and that during which it is lowest (minus 4·5 degrees C.) is January.

The average rainfall varies between 25 and 80 centimetres per annum, with the dampest climate in the north-western part. Everywhere there is more rain during the summer.

This uniformity of the whole, which makes the task of geographical description an easy one, seems at first sight to make the division of the Ukrainian territory into different zones impossible, while giving each zone some original characteristics in the sphere of economic geography.

Nevertheless, when going deeper into an analysis of /31
the question, we establish a division of the Ukraine into two agro-climatic zones.

This separation is determined by climatic and agrarian factors. There are differences of rainfall, of the soil, and of flora.

The border of these two zones begins at the western frontier of the Ukraine, on the 48th degree latitude north, and rises in an almost straight line up to the

eastern frontier at the 50th degree latitude north, while cutting the territory into two almost equal parts.

In the northern zone (Zone 1) the rainfall is everywhere greater than 50 centimetres, while in the southern zone (Zone 2) it is less than 50 centimetres and varies between 25 and 50 centimetres.

The predominant soils of Zone 1 are poor *tchernozioms*, that is to say somewhat exhausted by the currents of water which have deprived them of their humus to a varying extent in different regions, and have brought to them some sand and clay from their sources.

On the contrary, the lands of Zone 2 are rich and complete *tchernozioms*.

Zone 1 comprises a vast forest region which, while spreading along the courses of the river becomes little by little a land of light woods, is yet characterized by the general presence of forests.

Zone 2 has no forests and is the true Steppe.

This separation is in practice nothing else but the frontier between the Steppe as such and the *lesso-steppe* (a Steppe with occasional woods)—a geographical term which has been accepted by Russian scientists for a long time.

This border is also that which defined the cradle of Russia, the ancient principality of Kiev, separating it from the savage Steppe of the nomads. Therefore, already at that distant epoch, the separation between these two agro-climatic zones existed in practice. Thus justified from a geographical point of view, the border between these two zones is all the more acceptable, as it is in tune with an historic reality since the establishment of settled populations.

Each time when we treat the question of populations in our study (the difference of density, of social distribution, and of ethnical composition), of agriculture

2/1 See category 116, pp. 139–140 --- Analysis

The Ukraine]

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) Position and Frontiers

101 Ukraina or Okraina (meaning 'border') appears originally to have formed the 'limes Rossicus' or 'Polonicus', i. e. borderland between the Russians, Poles, Turks, and Tatars, the centre of which lay in the lower reaches of the Dnieper valley. The connotation of the word has varied widely. When in process of time this borderland was colonized, and with the rise of Great Russia was extended in many directions, the old name Ukraina or Ukraine was loosely applied to the whole of the enlarged area where the Little Russians (Ruthenians) were in an increasing majority. This extension of the term was facilitated by the modern rise of Little Russian literature, especially in Austrian Galicia, where the use of the Little Russian language was permitted, and 'Ukrainian' rapidly passed from archaeological into literary currency as the equivalent of Little Russian in general.

The connotation of the Ukraine adopted here is that of the General Proclamation of the Ukrainian National Council, issued November 20, 1917, in which it is definitely stated: 'Therefore we announce: to the territory of the National Ukrainian Republic belong the lands where the majority of the population is Ukrainian—Volhynia, Podolia, Kiev, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, and Taurida (without the Crimea).'[1]

● 131 The Ukraine as thus constituted consists of three provinces, the South-west Territory (*Yugo-Zapadny*

[1] On March 29, 1918, the German Government recognized, in accordance with the Treaty of February 9 and the Ukrainian Proclamation, the nine Governments mentioned above as belonging to Ukraine proper, as well as parts of Cholm and Grodno.

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

131 *Krai*), Little Russia (*Malorossiya*), and part of South or New Russia (*Novorossiya*). The South-west Territory is formed by the three Governments (*gubernii*) of Volhynia (area, 27,700 square miles), Podolia (16,219 square miles), and Kiev (19,686 square miles); Little Russia by those of Chernigov (20,233 square miles), Poltava (19,265 square miles), and Kharkov (21,035 square miles); and New Russia contains the Governments of Yekaterinoslav (24,478 square miles), Kherson (27,337 square miles), and Taurida (23,312 square miles, of which 9,704 belong to the Crimea). It should be noted that the Ukraine by this definition excludes Bessarabia, the Don Cossacks' Territory, and the Crimea, all of which are included in New Russia.

131 101 The Ukraine thus occupies an area of more than 190,000 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the Governments of Voronezh, Kursk, Orel, Smolensk, Mohilev, Minsk and Grodno; on the west by the recently created Russian Polish Government of Cholm, Eastern Galicia, and Bessarabia; on the south by the Black Sea, the Crimea, and the Sea of Azov; on the east by the Don Cossacks' Territory.

Except on the west and in the south the boundaries can hardly be said to coincide with natural divisions. Nor are they completely ethnographical, for the ethnographical area extends into Kursk, Voronezh, Grodno, Minsk, Cholm, and Eastern Galicia.

(2) Surface, Coast, and River System

Surface

133 The Ukraine falls naturally into three divisions: Polyesia in the north, the Black Sea plateau, extending from the western boundary to the Dnieper, and Little Russia on the left bank of the Dnieper.

Polyesia (of which only the southern part actually falls within the boundaries of the Ukraine as claimed by the Little Russians) occupies primarily the basin of the Pripet, a right-bank tributary of the Dnieper. The central portion consists of an almost unbroken

9: Prothero G-4 (no date) 1920 RD1 Ukraine RD1

phils) of being the result of German intrigue.[1] This again gave rise to a pamphlet, by L. Tschelski, issued in Sofia (1915) by the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine, entitled *Is the Ukrainian Movement a German Intrigue?* The Russian Government took severe measures against the members of the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine, who, including the chief leader, Hrushevski, were banished to Siberia, or were forbidden to enter Russia from abroad.

(D) Fourth Period: Since the Russian Revolution of 1917

(*a*) *The Ukraine becomes independent.*—One of the first questions which faced the Provisional Government at the beginning of the Russian Revolution was the demand for an amnesty for the Ukrainian Nationalist offenders, who were allowed to return from Siberia and abroad. Next came the demand for Ukrainian autonomy and the appointment of a special Minister for Ukrainian Affairs, presented by a deputation sent from Kiev to Petrograd on April 6, 1917. Soon afterwards the first Ukrainian National Congress was convened at Kiev (April 19–22), at which some 800 members representative of the *intelligentsia* and the Social Revolutionaries were present. They elected a Central Rada, and declared for an autonomous Ukrainian republic under a Russian federal republic. Professor Hrushevski was elected President. The territory claimed for the Ukrainian state corresponded roughly to the western parts of the Governments of Lublin and Grodno, and the whole of the Governments of Kiev, Poltava, Kherson, Volhynia, Kharkov, Podolia, Yekaterinoslav, and Chernigov, and excluded the Austrian Ukraine. The Congresses of the Ukrainian Soldiers (May 5–7) and of the Ukrainian Peasants (May–June) supported the Rada at this time. But the Petrograd

[1] In answer to a pamphlet by Tschelski, *No Liberator, but an Oppressor of Nations: How Russia freed the Ukraine.* L.L.U., Sofia, 1914.

UKRAINE
Land of Black Earth

/7/

The Outpost

000 Reaching the first villages of a different people, the stranger stands helpless. The great unknown of this world fills him with awe, with the wish to fathom its essence, and with vague expectations. Velykyi Lypnyk is such a village on the edge of a large community ruled by other laws. It is the most westerly outpost, the spearhead, as it were, of the self-contained settlement area of a people whose often grandiose history bears
181 out the truth: Woe to the vanquished! This race of Ukrainians is the largest on earth without its own state. Often the Ukrainians were chosen by providence for great deeds; for a long time they protected the West from the wild Asiatic hordes, then history made them dead quiet. They were forgotten and almost abandoned to extinction. But the people refused to be "a branch of the large Russian tree; they wanted to be a tree themselves, with roots, trunk, branches and leaves, drawing its nourishment from its own soil". Again and again they rose up against ruling peoples, they fought, won and - lost. /8/

131 A two- to three-hour drive by automobile separates the self-contained German settlement in Silesia from the Ukrainian spearhead in eastern Slovakia at the foot of the High Tatra. In between lies the settlement of the Zips Germans. It is a mere weekend excursion from Breslau or Vienna to the border of the Ukrainian realm. For the inhabitant of Breslau it is no farther than Berlin and for the Viennese it is as far as Munich. It takes six hours by car from Vienna or Breslau up the Oder and the Waag along the quiet, dreamy woodland slopes of the Slovakian mountains to the High Tatra. Between it and the Lower Beskid the

/13/ crystal-clear Poprad eats it way toward Galicia. Along this small stream live Ukrainians; near it lies Velykyi Lypnyk. Its neighbors are Germans, Gorals and Slovaks.

77% Here lies the border of a strange world, a world whose other edge reaches almost to the Caspian Sea on the threshold of Asia. In it birth, life, death, time and many other things have a different value than elsewhere, other criteria obtain, and every stranger who would attempt to apply his own measure would fail. Even Christ has become different; he does not wear the crown of thorns, but the emperor's crown on his brow. Thus he sits in judgment over mankind. Here other altars are built, not the puritanically strict ones of the evangelical church nor the ostentatious ones of the Catholic, but the magnificent ones of the Byzantine church. The mysticism of this world between the peaks of the High Tatra, the glaciers of the Caucasus and the glistening mirror of the Caspian is already revealed here where Rome, Constantinople and Moscow are an equal distance away. True, the church steeple has an onion-shaped cupola, like any Bavarian one, but beside it two smaller cupolas adorn the roof and the altar conceals a magnificent painted screen, designed to wrap the service in still greater mystery. Like pure gold this iconostasis with the pictures of six prophets /9/ and twelve apostles is spread out before the sanctuary. Its basic tone is blue and yellow, the Ukrainian colors.

77% With God these people communicate through the priest, with the devil, directly. Even though they believe in Christ with deep religiosity, they by no means wish to be on a bad footing with the Evil One. It is not good to have him for an enemy; it is better not to say his name, or he might think he is being called and is expected to come. These people are also on good terms with spirits. The latter must be respected, feared,

/12/ Come Along, Friend

101 The Ukrainian country has been given various names. It is called the "largest meadow", and this implies the blossoming steppe in springtime and the nomadic herds numbering hundreds of thousands of cattle and sheep. But it is also called "cornhouse", and this recalls the huge granaries in the harbors of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. It is said to be the easternmost Mediterranean country, because its people are dark-haired and gayer than the thick-blooded Russians in the north, because the sun beats down as it does on the shores of the Mediterranean, and because in the Crimea cypresses and cedars tower into the heavens, figs and almonds ripen. Then, too, it is called a "peninsula of Asia" because the steppes of this continent reach over as far as the Dniestr and the delta of the Danube, and for two thousand years one Asiatic horde after another have pitched their tents in these wide spaces. Still others say that the Ukraine is the "bridge to India", for up to the Middle Ages the large trade routes from the West to the Far East and Asia Minor intersected here with those of the northern countries to Byzantium. Napoleon was of this opinion when he wanted to destroy the British Empire through the conquest of India. Czar Paul III[2] was supposed to carry out this plan, and had declared himself prepared to do so. His well-timed murder, however, in those days saved the British rule in India. (2)

2. Trietsch, Russia, page 24.

● 131 Geographers have established the fact that the Ukrainian national territory extends from 43 to 53 degrees northern latitude and from 21 to 45 degrees eastern longitude. /13/ They say

2[sic--Analyst]

•13/ further that the boundaries of the Ukrainian nation may be divided into southern boundaries (Black Sea and Caucasus), southwest boundaries (Rumanians and Magyars), western boundaries (Slovaks and Poles), northern boundaries (White Russians and Russians) and eastern boundaries (peoples of the Don and the Caucasus). For these scholars Ukraine is the southern part of the vast Sarmatian lowland between the Carpathian arc, the Finnish highland, the Urals and the Caucasus. They certainly go to great pains to reduce to a common denominator the censuses of the various states in which the Ukrainians have been forced to live. They have added up the square kilometers of all Ukrainian countries and the people living in them, and have reached the following maximal result for 1933: (3)

162

3. Kubyievych: The Distribution of Population in the Ukraine, page 6.

Ukrainian provinces on January 1, 1933 within the states:	Surface in 1000 sq. kilometers	Surface area of total Ukrainian territory in percentage	Inhabitants in 1000	Proportion of inhabitants of total Ukrainian populated area in percentage
Soviet Union.....	773.4	82.4	43,658	79.6
Poland.....	132.2	14.1	9,198	16.8
Rumania.....	17.6	1.9	1,258	2.3
Czechoslovakia.	14.9	1.6	746	1.3
	938.1	100.0	54,860	100.0

I INTRODUCTION

101 The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (the Ukraine) is one of the U.S.S.R.'s sixteen constituent Union Republics. Situated in the south-western corner of the Soviet Union, the Ukraine is bordered on the south by the Black and Azov Seas and the Crimea (part of Russia); its western border touches the frontiers of Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland as well as the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic. Towards the north the Ukrainian S.S.R. verges on two other Soviet Republics: Byelorussia and Russia; and it is the Russian neighbourhood of the Don river which forms the Ukraine's eastern border.

101 135 In economic development and in population the Ukraine is second greatest of the Soviet Republics. It has a fertile soil, a mild humid climate, and is rich in deposits of coal, oil, iron, manganese and salts, as well as in building materials. It has four main rivers: the Dnieper (third largest in Europe), the Dniester, the Bug, and the Donets (a tributary of the Don), which are navigable and are also useful reservoirs of power.

433 162 Before 1941 the Ukraine contained more than one-fifth of the inhabitants of the entire Soviet Union. Its industry produced 54 per cent. of the coal, 60 per cent. of the pig iron, 48 per cent. of the steel, and 35 per cent. of the manganese ore turned out in the whole U.S.S.R.; it manufactured railway engines and cars, tractors, turbines, harvester combines, and mining and agricultural machinery for all parts of the Soviet Union. "It also produced artificial fertilizers, soda, glass and cement. The output of the sugar, meat-packing, flour-milling, distilling, and dairy industries reached great dimensions. Fishing was developed in the Black Sea and Azov Sea. The Dnieper Power Station, 361 the largest in Europe, was famous throughout the world. The cities of the Ukraine, both old and new, developed rapidly; during the past 25 years 77 new cities and 285 industrial settlements were built."[1]

241 Agriculture also was highly developed. In 1937-38 Ukrainian farms accounted for nearly one-fifth of the grain, one-sixth of the potatoes, and two-thirds of the sugar beet produced in the Soviet Union. The Ukraine also had a large proportion of the total Soviet Union livestock. Millions of head of cattle, pigs, sheep, and poultry were raised. Ukrainian agriculture was highly mechanized; before the war there were 90,000 tractors and 31,000 harvesting combines operating in the fields.

Area and Population

131 In January 1939 the Ukrainian Republic had an area of about 469,700 square kilometres including 8,000 square kilometres in its

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1 The Sixteen Soviet Republics, Soviet News, London, 1945.

131 constituent autonomous republic, the Moldavian A.S.S.R.[1] On November 1, [728] 939, 88,000 square kilometres were added when Western Ukraine, which in 1920 had been annexed by Poland, was re-joined to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic.

131 728 Another 21,300 square kilometres were added in June 1940 when Bessarabia (annexed by Rumania in 1918) and Northern Bukovina (another part of Rumania) also were incorporated, making the Ukraine's total area then about 579,000 square kilometres. However, a small decrease occurred in August 1940 when the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. granted the petition of the Moldavian people in Bessarabia to join with a part of the Moldavian Autonomous Republic to form the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war the area of the Ukraine was 575,000 square kilometres (2½ per cent. of the territory of the Soviet Union); and the population was over 40 millions. After the addition of the Transcarpathian region in June 1945, the Ukraine's total area was 537,700 square kilometres; it is approximately the same today. The following table summarizes the changes in the area and population of the Ukrainian S.S.R. from 1939 to June 1941.

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635 642 The U.S.S.R. is composed of sixteen Union Soviet Socialist Republics. Within this framework there exist a number of autonomous provinces, national regions and autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics. Before August 1940 the Ukrainian S.S.R. included one autonomous republic, the Moldavian A.S.S.R. which was subsequently given full status and became the sixteenth Union Republic. According to Professor Trainin, the Soviet authority on legal questions, the main distinction between autonomous and union republics is that the latter are guaranteed the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. - a right which is not incorporated in the constitutions of the autonomous republics. Another difference regarding status is that whereas in the Soviet of Nationalities (one of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.) every Union republic is represented by 25 deputies, the autonomous republic is represented by only 11.

TABLE I

Area and Population of the Ukrainian S.S.R., 1939-40

	Area (thousand square kilometres)	Population (millions)
Area Ukrainian S.S.R. January 1939	469.7	30.96
Territories added:		
Western Ukraine (added November 1939)	88.0	8.0
Part of Bessarabia	15.3	1.05
Northern Bukovina (both added June 1940)	6.0	0.5
	579.0	40.51
Territories transferred:		
Part of the Moldavian A.S.S.R. (together with part of Bessarabia, created the Moldavian S.S.R., August 1940)	3.9	0.31
Totals August 1940	575.1	40.20

Source : Territory and Population of the U.S.S.R., S.Sulkevich, Moscow, 1940.

In June 1945 the Transcarpathian Ukraine was ceded by Czechoslovakia to the Ukrainian S.S.R. This transfer added about 12,600 square kilometres area and a population of about 750,000. The details of the various cessions of territory are given below.

Soviet-Polish Frontiers

In the autumn of 1939, after the collapse of the Polish State and the occupation of Western Poland by German troops, the Soviet Government decided to take under its protection the life and property of the population of Eastern Poland, that is, Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, inhabited mainly by Ukrainians and Byelorussians. When they were seized by Poland in 1920, these territories were ethnographically and economically part of the Soviet Union. Their return to the Soviet Union increased the area and population of the Byelorussian S.S.R. by 108,000 square kilometres and 4.8 million inhabitants; and of the Ukraine, by 88,000 square kilometres and 8 million people.

In August 1945, a slight adjustment of frontiers took place between Poland and the Soviet Union. A treaty was signed which, in accordance with the decision of the Crimea Conference in February 1945, established the Polish-Soviet boundary roughly along the Curzon Line, with some deviations in favour of Poland. As a result of this, Poland was given back a small strip of the territory which had been incorporated in the Soviet Union in 1939.

Moldavia

635 648 The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic was created on August 2, 1940 by the decree of the Supreme Soviet of U.S.S.R. This Republic consists of a part of the former Moldavian Autonomous S.S. Republic and of a section of Bessarabia incorporated into the Soviet Union. [131 161] The creation of this new Union Republic decreased the Ukrainian S.S.R. by 3,900 square kilometres and a population of 310,000 persons[1].

The Transcarpathian Ukraine[2]

928 In June 1945 an agreement was signed in Moscow between the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic that the Transcarpathian Ukraine "...which on the basis of a pact of September 10, 1919, concluded at St.Germain-en-Laye, entered the Czechoslovak Republic with the rank of an Autonomous Republic, will, according to the wish manifested by the population of the Carpatho-Ukraine and on the basis of the friendly agreement of both high contracting parties, unite with its longstanding motherland, the Ukraine, and is included in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The frontier between Slovakia and the Carpatho-Ukraine, existing since September 29, 1938, will, with modifications described, become the frontier between the U.S.S.R. and the Czechoslovak Republic..."

Article II of the protocol appended to the Pact said that:

"Persons of Ukrainian and Russian nationality living in Czechoslovak territory have the right to opt for Soviet citizenship until January 1, 1946... Czech and Slovak nationals residing or having their permanent domicile in the territory of the Carpatho-Ukraine have the right to opt for Czechoslovak nationality during the time until January 1, 1946".[3]

131 311 On January 1, 1935, the area of the Transcarpathian Ukraine was 12,617 square kilometres. In 1937 about half of this was covered by forests and woods; roughly 239,000 hectares were arable, and about 328,000 hectares were devoted to vineyards, market gardens, and permanent meadows and pastures.

161 As at December 1, 1930, the population of the Transcarpathian Ukraine was 725,357, an increase of nearly 121,000 over February 1921.[4]

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1 Territory and Population of the U.S.S.R., S.Sulkevich, Moscow, 1940.

2 Called by the Czechs, Sub-Carpathian Rus, or Carpatho-Ukraine.

3 New York Times quoted by Voices of History (1945-46), Gramercy Publishing Company, New York.

4 Statistical Handbook of Czechoslovak Republic, London.

TABLE XIV

185 433 241 Ukraine: Planned Production in 1950 Compared with 1940 and 1913 (see Note)

(million metric tons)

	1913	1940	1950
Grain	20	28	27.8
Sugar beet	8.9	14.8	15.7
Potatoes	about 5[1]	21.5	23

1 According to the report in Pravda, the potato harvest in 1940 was "over 4 times" that of 1913.

Source: Pravda Ukrainy, Kiev, August 28, 1946.

[728] Note: In comparing the 1950 target figures with pre-war production it is important to bear in mind the territorial revisions which occurred in the Ukraine after 1939, when she regained Western Ukraine and part of Bessarabia, lost a part of the Moldavian Autonomous Republic (which, together with the Moldavian Section of Bessarabia, then became a separate Union Republic), and added Northern Bukovina and Transcarpathian Ukraine.

[131] Thus the present area of the Ukraine exceeds its 1938 area by approximately 118,000 kilometres (11,800,000 hectares). However, 311 we do not know precisely how much of this is agricultural land. The 728 arable land in Western Ukraine before the war amounted to 4 million hectares; that of Transcarpathian Ukraine, to 239,000 hectares. In the parts of Bessarabia and Bukovina which were ceded to the Soviet Union, 3,285,800 hectares were classified as arable. If we roughly divide this between Moldavia and the Ukraine in proportion to the total ex-Rumanian area incorporated in each, about 1,300,000 hectares of agricultural land would have been added to the Ukraine in its share of Bessarabia; and the arable area of present-day Ukraine would exceed the 1937 cultivated area by about 5½ million hectares, the potential total being 30.6 million. The fact that the Five-Year Plan fixes the Ukraine's 1950 area of cultivation at 30.5 million hectares seems to support this assumption.

Livestock

231 In 1941 the number of livestock in the Ukraine was estimated at 30.4 million, including 10.5 million cattle and 4.6 million horses.[1]

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1 Statement on March 20, 1946, by Mr. Baranovsky, Ukrainian delegate to the UNRRA Fourth Council Session, published in the "UNRRA Journal", March 21, 1946.

7

THE BRIDGE BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

101 The political boundary between Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia is not a clear-cut dividing line between two different worlds. There are a number of Ruthenian peasants in the eastern parts of Slovakia who form a gradual transition between the two neighbours. True, the Slovaks and the Ruthenians are two different Slav races. The Slovaks are closely related to the Moravians and Czechs in the West; the Ruthenians belong to the Russian family—mainly to its Ukrainian branch—although the thousand years of isolation from their kinsmen have had a specific effect on the character of the Ruthenian population on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. But there is a gradual link between the Slovaks and the Ruthenians, and Carpathian Ruthenia may aptly be described as a bridge between the Western and Eastern Slavs.

131 175 Geographically, too, the two neighbouring countries are similar. A chain of wooded mountains separates them from the kindred Slav populations to the North and North-East; while to the South both countries have stretches of fertile plain which run down unobstructed into the vast Danubian basin. That is the reason why both countries fell victim to Hungarian expansion early in their history and remained under Hungarian rule as second-rate provinces for a thousand years. Until the end of 1918, neither Slovakia nor Carpathian Ruthenia were on the map.

177 212 Both these countries suffered from the long alien domination which hampered their development. Slovakia was the more fortunate of the two because, in spite of her political separation from the independent lands of the Czech Crown, cultural and religious contacts with them had been maintained for centuries. But the Ruthenians received less support of this kind from their kindred beyond the Carpathians. As a result, Ruthenia was still more at the mercy of her Hungarian overlords and remained in a state of greater backwardness than her neighbour in the West. This is well illustrated by the degree of illiteracy in Ruthenia under the Hungarian regime which was, indeed, appalling; according to the last Hungarian census about three quarters of the Ruthenian population could not read or write.

177 181 Only people of considerable racial individuality could have resisted systematic denationalisation as the Ruthenians did. They may be a simple people; but their mode of living, their outlook and their character have an unmistakable stamp of their own.

They are a mountain people who cling to the place where they

23: Shabad N-4 (no date) 1951 Rl Soviet Union Rl
Ukraine RD1

CHAPTER 28

Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Capital, Kiev (Kiyev); area, 222,600, population, 40,500,000

THE UKRAINIAN SSR, or Ukraine, is in second place among the union republics from the point of view of population and economic potentials. The Ukraine is situated in the southwestern portion of the East European lowland, on the shores of the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, and extends westward beyond the Carpathian Mountains to the Tisza River.

GENERAL SURVEY

THE PREDOMINANT LOWLAND CHARACTER of the region is interrupted here and there by some low elevations, such as the Donets ridge in the southeast, the Volyn'-Podolian plateau in the west, and the intervening Dnieper ridge. The Carpathians, with their foothills to the north, constitute the only mountainous section of the Ukraine. Five distinct physical regions can be distinguished: (1) the Poles'ye, a forested zone in the north; (2) the wooded steppe in the center; (3) the steppe proper in the south; (4) the Carpathian foothills in the west; and (5) the Carpathians and the Transcarpathian Ukraine.

The Poles'ye in the north and the northwest forms a southern extension of the extensive Poles'ye lowland which constitutes the basic relief form of the adjoining Belorussian SSR. It is a low sandy and forested expanse, distinguished by considerable swampiness (Pripet Marshes). The woods are a mixture of deciduous and evergreen types. Podsols and marshy ground constitute the principal soil forms. The Poles'ye is drained by the lower course of two principal affluents of the Dnieper: the Pripet (or Pripyat'), on the right, and the Desna, on the left.

The wooded steppe on the right bank of the Dnieper is formed by the Volyn'-Podolian plateau. This upland is highest in the northwest and slopes gradually toward the east and the southeast. It has crystalline rock formations covered by recent sediments (sand, clay, and limestone)